

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-10 IO-14

L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07 EB-11

DRC-01 AECE-00 /163 W

----- 012837

P R 041641Z JUL 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 256

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 0095

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0137

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652 GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: SUMMARY REPORT

FOR PERIOD JUNE 22-28, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THERE WAS LITTLE FORWARD MOVEMENT IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA THIS WEEK AS THE SOVIETS, ADMITTING THAT THEY WERE AWAITING THE OUTCOME OF THE SUMMIT IN MOSCOW, RESORTED TO STALLING TACTICS. DURING THE INFORMAL MEETING ON JUNE 25, THE EASTERN REPS ACCUSED THE WESTERN SIDE OF RENEGING ON ITS ALLEGED AGREEMENT TO SEEK A COMPROMISE FIRST STEP AGREEMENT. SOVIET REP KHLESTOV VOLUNTEERED NO ADDITIONAL DETAILS CONCERNING THE EAST'S FIRST SECRET

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STEP, OR MODIFIED SYMBOLIC REDUCTION, PROPOSAL. AT THE

PLENARY SESSION ON JUNE 27, POLISH REP STRULAK REITERATED THE EAST'S POSITIONS CONCERNING STABILITY, MUTUAL CONFIDENCE, THE COMMON CEILING, AND THE NECESSITY TO INCLUDE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN ANY REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT. SOME MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP SUGGESTED THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES NOW BROADEN THE DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST, BUT THE AHG ACCEPTED THE COUNTERARGUMENT THAT THIS WOULD PLAY INTO THE EAST'S HANDS. DURING DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF TAKING UP FORCE DEFINITIONS WITH THE EAST, THE UK REP INDICATED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THAT A NATO AGREEMENT ON DATA MUST PRECEDE A DISCUSSION OF DEFINITION OF FORCES. END SUMMARY.

2. THE JUNE 25 INFORMAL MEETING: SOVIET REP KHLESTOV REPEATEDLY DENIED THAT THE EAST IS WILLING TO ACCEPT A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE US AND USSR ON ONE HAND AND THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON THE OTHER. KHLESTOV SAID THAT IF THE WEST BELIEVES THE EAST IS WILLING TO MAKE THIS DISTINCTION, IS GUILTY OF WISHFUL THINKING. HOWEVER, HE LATER STATED THAT THE PICTURE WOULD BE DIFFERENT IF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS HAD BEEN PREPARED, WHILE STICKING TO THEIR BASIC POSITIONS, TO SEEK A FIRST STEP AGREEMENT. KHLESTOV AGAIN CRITICIZED THE WEST'S PROPOSED NO-INCREASE COMMITMENT, STATING THAT THIS REPRESENTS AN ATTEMPT BY THE NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS TO EVADE AN OBLIGATION TO REDUCE. KHLESTOV AND THE OTHER EASTERN REPS CLAIMED THAT THE ALLIES, DURING THE JUNE 18 INFORMAL, HAD AGREED TO SEEK AN INITIAL STEP, AND ACCUSED THE WESTERN REPS OF RENEGING ON THAT AGREEMENT. THEY ALSO AGAIN ATTEMPTED TO BROADEN THE TOPIC OF DISCUSSION TO INCLUDE CONSIDERATION OF THE ISSUES OF THE SIZE OF THE REDUCTIONS AND THE TYPES OF FORCES THAT WOULD BE REDUCED.

3. ALTHOUGH KHLESTOV MADE A DETERMINED EFFORT TO EMPHASIZE THE EAST'S FIRST STEP APPROACH, HE VOLUNTEERED NO NEW DETAILS ON IT. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE US REP, KHLESTOV SAID THE EAST IS PREPARED IN THE CONTEXT OF A FIRST STEP AGREEMENT TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF HAVING THE US AND USSR FINISH THEIR REDUCTIONS (IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EAST'S MODIFIED SYMBOLIC REDUCTION PROPOSAL) BEFORE THE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD

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BEGIN THEIR REDUCTIONS. KHLESTOV ALSO AGAIN STATED THAT FOLLOW-UP NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD PROCEED WHILE THE FIRST STEP AGREEMENT IS BEING IMPLEMENTED. HE SAID THAT THESE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD CONSIDER THOSE THINGS NOT PROVIDED FOR IN THE FIRST STEP -- A PROBABLE REFERENCE TO DISCUSSION OF AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR-EQUIPPED UNITS.

4. BILATERALS: DURING A DISCUSSION WITH THE US DEPREP

ON JUNE 25, KHLESTOV INDICATED THAT HE COULD NOT MOVE IN VIENNA BECAUSE HE WAS NOT SURE WHAT MIGHT RESULT FROM THE SUMMIT MEETING IN MOSCOW. HE ALSO CLAIMED THAT THE EASTERN REPS HAD BEEN SURPRISED AT THE ALLEGED ALLIED REBUFF OF THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL. THE SOVIET REP STATED THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO BELIEVE THAT THE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET COULD BE EVEN TENTATIVELY RESOLVED UNLESS THERE WERE AT LEAST A PARTIAL RESOLUTION OF THE QUESTIONS OF THE SIZE AND TYPE OF REDUCTIONS. DURING A BRIEF CONVERSATION WITH NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES ON 27 JUNE, KHLESTOV AGAIN ACCUSED THE WEST OF RENEGING ON ITS AGREEMENT TO SEEK A FIRST STEP AGREEMENT.

5. IN A CONVERSATION WITH CANADIAN REP GRANDE ON JUNE 26, SOVIET DEP REP SMIRNOVSKY OBJECTED STRENUOUSLY TO ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS, BUT SAID THAT THE USSR WOULD BE PREPARED TO REDUCE MORE THAN THE US AS A RESULT OF EQUAL PERCENTAGE REDUCTIONS. SMIRNOVSKY SAID IT IS HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT ASYMMETRICAL REDUCTIONS NEED NOT RESULT IN A LOSS OF SECURITY FOR THE USSR, BUT ADDED THAT THE PEOPLE AND MILITARY AND POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE USSR WOULD NEVER AGREE TO SUCH UNEQUAL TREATMENT. SMIRNOVSKY ALSO SAID THAT SOME OF THE USSR'S ALLIES, PARTICULARLY THE EAST GERMANS, WERE OPPOSED TO ASYMMETRICAL SOVIET REDUCTIONS BECAUSE THEY FEARED THEIR SECURITY WOULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED. SMIRNOVSKY, ACCORDING TO GRANDE, ALSO TRIED TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT A WESTERN COMMITMENT THAT ALL ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REDUCE IN PHASE II WOULD NOT BE MUCH OF A CONCESSION. GRANDE WAS OF THE VIEW THAT SMIRNOVSKY IS PESSIMISTIC THAT ANY AGREEMENT CAN BE REACHED DURING THIS ROUND OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-10 IO-14

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SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-07 EB-11

DRC-01 AECE-00 /163 W

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P R 041641Z JUL 74
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0257
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS 096
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0137

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

6. THE PLENARY SESSION: DURING THE MEETING ON JUNE 27, POLISH REP STRULAK, THE ONLY SPEAKER, USED SOMEWHAT POLEMICAL TERMS TO CRITICIZE THE WESTERN POSITION AND TO ADVOCATE THE EAST'S. STRULAK EMPHASIZED THE NEED TO INCLUDE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN ANY REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT. HE STATED THAT THE WARSAW PACT HAD DEVELOPED ITS "DEFENSIVE ARMORED POTENTIAL" AS A RESPONSE TO NATO'S DEPLOYMENT OF TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS, SEEMING TO IMPLY THAT A LINK SHOULD BE MADE BETWEEN THESE TWO TYPES OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS FOR PURPOSES OF REDUCTION. STRULAK PROPOSED A FIRST STEP AGREEMENT AS THE MOST PROMISING COURSE FOR FURTHER PROGRESS.

7. AD HOC GROUP ACTIVITIES: DURING A MEETING ON JUNE 26,
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NETHERLANDS REP QUARLES, SUPPORTED BY BELGIAN ACTING REP WILLOT, URGED THAT THE ALLIES BROADEN THE INFORMAL DISCUSSION WITH THE EAST TO INCLUDE THE QUESTION OF THE APPROPRIATE OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. QUARLES ARGUED THAT FURTHER PROGRESS REQUIRES THAT THE EAST ACCEPT THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT AS A BASIS FOR REDUCTIONS, AND SUGGESTED THAT THE ALLIES ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN THAT EASTERN ACCEPTANCE. QUARLES ALSO COMMENTED THAT, TO ACHIEVE MOVEMENT, IT IS URGENT THAT THE ALLIES RECEIVE THE AUTHORIZATION TO USE THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA. WILLOT SUPPORTED QUARLES ARGUMENT, AND SUGGESTED THAT THE AHG ASK THE NAC AGAIN TO ANSWER TWO QUESTIONS ALREADY POSED: (A) WHETHER AIR FORCE MANPOWER SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE COMMON CEILING; AND (B) WHETHER A FREEZE ON AIR FORCE MANPOWER MIGHT ACCOMPANY GROUND FORCE REDUCTIONS. THE UK, FRG, AND US REPS ARGUED AGAINST BROADENING THE TOPIC OF DISCUSSION AT THE INFORMALS AT THIS TIME. THEY POINTED OUT THAT THE EAST WAS ATTEMPTING TO DO JUST THAT,

BECAUSE STICKING TO THE AGREED TOPIC "WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET" IS FORCING THE EAST TO ACCEPT THAT DISTINCTIONS CAN BE MADE AMONG THE DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THE AHG ACCEPTED THESE ARGUMENTS, AND ON JUNE 28 APPROVED THE SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS FOR THE INFORMAL ON JULY 2 THAT AIM AT BRINGING THE FOCUS OF THE DISCUSSION BACK TO THE AGREED TOPIC.

8. DURING A DISCUSSION OF THE AHG REPORT TO THE NAC, UK REP ROSE STATED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES BELIEVE THAT THE DATA PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED IN NATO BEFORE THERE CAN BE A DISCUSSION OF GROUND FORCE DEFINITIONS WITH THE EAST. ON JUNE 28 THE US REP CIRCULATED TWO INFORMAL PAPERS TO THE AHG, ONE ON DEFINITION OF GROUND FORCES AND THE OTHER ON POSSIBLE TACTICS REGARDING THE FORCE DEFINITION ISSUE. DISCUSSION OF THE PAPERS WAS DEFERRED UNTIL JULY 1.

9. COMMENT: UNLESS THEY RECEIVE NEW INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW, THE SOVIETS WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN ALLIED AGREEMENT THAT THERE SHOULD BE DISCUSSION OF THE REDUCTION PACKAGE AS WELL AS CONSIDERATION OF THE "WHOSE FORCES FROM THE OUTSET" ISSUE. IN SO DOING, THEY WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE TO HINT THAT THEY WILL BE FLEXIBLE ON THE ISSUE OF PHASING IF THE ALLIES WILL DISCUSS THE SIZE
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OF REDUCTIONS AND THE TYPE OF FORCES THAT SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE REDUCTION PACKAGE.RESOR

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Message Attributes

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